Pan-Africanism and Gold Coast Nationalism Throughout the First Decades of the Twentieth Century

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Abstract

The first decades of the twentieth century were characterized by growing race consciousness on the part of Africans on the continent and elsewhere, particularly in the United States. New World Pan-Africanists intensified their efforts and toured different parts of the world explaining their views and objectives in order to win more support to the African cause. A series of Pan-African Congresses had been organized since the end of the First World War to give Pan-Africanism form and substance. This allowed the Gold Coasters to come closer to Africansofthe diaspora and to follow the evolution of the Pan-African movement. The Gold Coast intelligentsia adopted some aspects of Pan-Africanism (as they were considered beneficial for their country's welfare) and rejected others.

This paper is an attempt to examine the evolution of both Pan-Africanism and nationalism in the Gold Coast, and the reaction of this country's leaders to this movement.

الملخّص:

تميزت العقود الأولى من القرن العشرين تزايدا في الوعي العرقي لدى الأفارقة في القارة الأفريقية وخارجها، خاصة في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، حيث كثف الأفريقانيون في العالم الجديد جهودهم وجالوا أرجاء مختلفة من العالم لشرح وجهات نظرهم وأهدافهم من أجل كسب المزيد من الدعم للقضية الأفريقية. وقد تم تنظيم سلسلة من المؤتمرات الأفريقانية منذ نهاية الحرب العالمية الأولى لإعطاء الحركة الأفريقانية شكلا ومضمونا. هذا ما سمح لمواطني ساحل الذهب (غانا حاليا) إلى التقرب من أفارقة الشتات ومتابعة تطور الحركة الأفريقانية عن كثب. كانت نتيجة هذا التقارب تبنيمثق في ساحل الذهب بعض جوانب الأفريقانية التي اعتبروها مفيدة لرفاهية بلادهم ورفضوا جوانب أخرى.

هذا المقال هو محاولة لدراسة تطور كلا من الحركة الأفريقانية والقومية في ساحل الذهب و كذا ردود فعل قادة هذا البلد الأفريقي تجاه هذه الحركة.

Introduction

The opening years of the twentieth century constituted a turning point in the evolution of Pan-Africanism in the New World and nationalism in the Gold Coast. Throughout these years, the two movements underwent great changes in the methods of protest and expression to adapt to the requirements of the new century. European colonialism in Africa was in its heyday, and so was racial discrimination in America. A more organized and explicit reaction of black people inside and outside Africa against white domination became then more than necessary to achieve substantial progress for the African race.

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Pan-Africanism and Gold Coast nationalism strived to gain momentum that would allow Africans of the diaspora and those on the continent to withstand centuries of white injustice, domination, and exploitation. Despite the long distance that separated the Gold Coasters from their brothers scattered throughout the Americas, there existed channels of communication that made it possible for the two sides to come together on several occasions. The various Pan-African meetings held in Europe and the U.S.A. were an opportunity for the Gold Coast leaders who attended them to come across Pan-African ideas and ideals, and get acquainted with the work that was being accomplished by their overseas brothers for the benefit of the black race.

- Pan-African Gatherings and the Gold Coast Representation (1900-1927)

The first three decades of the twentieth century witnessed the organization of a number of Pan-African Congresses, most of which were held under the leadership of W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), historically known as the father of Pan-Africanism. These Congresses helped draw the world's attention to the problems and aspirations of the black race inside and outside Africa. Moreover, they contributed to the spreading of the Pan-African ideology among African nationalist leaders, who eventually took it over from New World Pan-Africanists after the Second World War. The Gold Coast leaders showed a great interest in the Pan-African movement right from the outset, and

delegates attended thevarious Pan-African Congresses which were held between 1900 and 1927.

Sometimes referred to as the first Pan-African Congress, the 1900 Pan-African Conference was convened at Westminster Town Hall in London from 23 to 26 July by the Trinidadian Henry Sylvester Williams (1869-1911). It was at this Conference that Williams introduced the concept of Pan-Africanism for the first time. It was also during this Conference that Du Bois was introduced to Pan-Africanism (Legum 24) and made his famous statement: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line – the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea."

About thirty delegates from the United States, the Caribbean and Africa attended the Conference. The Gold Coast delegate to this Conference was a barrister called A. F. Ribero (Langley 30).[1] In addition, the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (A.R.P.S.) was greatly impressed by Williams' Conference and its official organ, ***The Gold Coast Aborigines***, gave it a wide coverage. This shows that the leaders of the A.R.P.S. were not exclusively concerned with local matters, but they were also "...keenly aware of their membership in the Negro race and were desirous to maintain the integrity and to assert the equality of that race. They identified themselves with the problems affecting the African continent as a whole..."(Asante 32).At the end of the conclave, the delegates sent an address to Queen Victoria, and to the world, in which they condemned the exploitation and ill-treatment of black people all over the world, and they demanded the improvement of the Africans' educational conditions.

In 1911 the Universal Races Congress was held in London from 26 to 29 July. Du Bois was the most active

[1]- In some sources, the last name is spelled Ribeiro. See, for instance, Geiss 182, and Hooker 32. No further details are, however, given in all these sources about Ribero's participation in this conference.

participant who was said to be behind the idea of this gathering (Geiss 216). The Universal Races Congress was not Pan-African, as the delegates were not exclusively African or of African origin but from all over the world and included all races. Geiss pointed out that it was "...rather a well-meant sentimental attempt to contribute towards a better relationship between the various races by means of personal contact and scholarly discussion" (215). Nevertheless, this Congress was given a Pan-African character through the participation of African delegates from Nigeria and South Africa. No delegates from the Gold Coast attended the Congress, but a prominent figure, the Nigerian Dr. Mojola Agbebi (1860-1917) represented West Africa. Agbebi (alias David Brown Vincent) presented a paper entitled '*The West African Problem*' in which he tackled, *inter alia*, the falling apart of the native West African social structure as a result of contact with the Europeans who had a vague knowledge about the Africans' traditions, he stated. He rejected modernizing influences brought about by the Europeans. He, therefore, tried to explain and justify some aspects of West African traditional society, and he appealed for a better understanding of native life on the part of the Europeans (Spiller, ed., 341-48).

The great African-American educationist Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) convened the International Conference on the Negro which took place at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, from 17 to 19 April 1912. The aim of this Conference, as it was stated in its announcement, was

> ...to afford an opportunity for studying the methods employed in helping the Negro people of the United States, with a view of deciding to what extent Tuskegee and Hampton methods may be applied to conditions in these countries [in Europe, the West Indies, and North and South America], as well as to conditions in Africa (Harlan and Smock, eds., 72).

B. T. Washington advocated industrial education to promote the Blacks' cause in the United States. Therefore, he

tried to draw up a plan for applying the educational methods he had been using in Tuskegee Institute to the African continent. The Gold Coast leaders took a great interest in this event, especially Edward W. Blyden and Casely Hayford who sent greeting letters to Washington's conference. In addition, two delegates from the Gold Coast attended on behalf of the A.R.P.S. The two delegates were the Reverend F. A. O. Pinanko, and the Reverend Mark Christian Hayford (1864-1935), the Baptist minister from Cape Coast and elder brother of Casely Hayford. M. C. Hayford gave a lengthy talk on 'The Progress of the Gold Coast Native' (Asante 34).[(1)]

The Pan-African Congress which most historians referred to as the 'first' and which attracted most attention was that convened by W. E. B. Du Bois in 1919 in Paris. Geiss pointed out that in this congress the delegates' names were not mentioned in the report which only mentioned their countries of origin (238). Du Bois asserted that there were twelve delegates from nine African countries (Kedourie 375), and Geiss stated that there were 'scarcely any representatives from West Africa,' but it is doubtful that delegates from the Gold Coast attended the Congress since in March 1919 Casely Hayford regretted that British West Africa was not represented in the Paris Congress (240).Nevertheless, the Gold Coast press was in general agreement with the resolutions adopted by the Congress, particularly ***The Gold Coast Leader*** which commented that the First Pan-African Congress "...had brought representatives of fifteen African communities, including West Africa, onto a common platform, and had presented a 'united front' on race questions" (qtd. in Langley 67). Furthermore, the newspaper urged the educated West Africans to provide a true image of the situation of West Africa which was unknown to most New World Blacks and predicted that more West African delegates would be present at the next Pan-African Congress.

[1]- Geiss asserted, however, that the title of the paper was 'Educational Conditions on the Gold Coast' (220). Two other authors, namely James S. Coleman and G. I. C. Eluwa, agree with Asante on the title of Hayford's paper, but they both stated that it was presented by Casely who, they affirmed, attended the Conference (Coleman 187, Eluwa 213). This is undoubtedly a mistake (probably confusing Christian with Casely), for many references state that Casely Hayford did not personally attend the Conference, but he only sent a letter to it (Langley 32, Gocking 55).

In the resolutions passed at this Congress the delegates requested, among other things:

> …gradual self-government for Africans, the use of the League of Nations to supervise native rights, "civilized Negroes" in Africa to be accorded equal rights, liberty of conscience, the safeguarding of the rights of Africans to their land and their health and their labor, and the promotion of mass education for Africans (Du Bois 24).[1]

The Second Pan-African Congress met in August and September 1921 in three successive sessions in London, Brussels and Paris. The number of the participants in this Congress doubled in comparison to the previous one. More than one third of the delegates (forty-one) who attended were from Africa alone (Kedourie 377). The Gold Coast representative was W. F. Hutchinson, a journalist who had been working in London since the closing years of the nineteenth century. In the evening speeches of the second day of the London session, Hutchinson presented a long paper about Africa and Europe (Langley 75-76).

At the end of the proceedings, the Congress chose Du Bois to head a delegation which was to present a petition to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. The petition contained the Second Pan-African Congress's suggestion to the world to move towards self-government for peoples under foreign domination and asked the League of Nations to take a firm stand on the absolute equality of all races without exception (Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism* 134-35).

At a time when his position as the African Americans' representative at home and abroad was being seriously challenged by the mounting popularity of the Jamaican Pan-African leader Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), Du Bois organized

[1]- The full contents of the resolutions drafted in the First Pan-African Congress can be found in Padmore's *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*124-25.

the Third Pan-African Congress in two sessions in London and Lisbon in 1923, without proper notice or preparation (Du Bois241). The Gold Coast delegate to the Congress was Chief Amoah III who was at that time dealing in American-West African cocoa trade, but the number of participants was even smaller than in the previous congresses, probably due to the fact that the meeting was poorly publicized and hastily organized.

The resolutions passed at this session were almost a reiteration of former demands:

1- A voice in their [the Africans'] own governments.
2- The right of access to the land and its resources.
3- Trial by juries of their peers under established forms of law.
4- Free elementary education for all; broad training in modern industrial techniques; and higher training of selected talent.
5- The development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
6- The abolition of the slave trade and the liquor traffic.
7- World disarmament and the abolition of war; but failing this, and as long as white folk bear arms against black folk, the right of blacks to bear arms in their own defense.
8- The organization of commerce and industry so as to make the main objects of capital and labor the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few (Du Bois 242).

The Fourth Pan-African Congress was supposed to be held in the West Indies in 1925, as an attempt by Du Bois to move the Pan-African idea closer to African centers, and also probably to deprive Garvey of some of his popularity in his own territory, as Geiss suggested (256). Du Bois's plan was to charter a ship and sail across the West Indies to publicize his Pan-African project and hold meetings in Jamaica, Haiti, Cuba, and the French Islands; but the whole idea was finally abandoned because of exorbitant prices demanded by a French shipping line (Du Bois 242). As a result, the Fourth Pan-African Congress waspostponed for two years, and then it was finally held in New York in 1927. It was the last of the series of Pan-African Congresses organized by Du Bois before the outbreak of

the Second World War. The Gold Coast was again represented by Chief Amoah III who was among the chief speakers. However, this Congress did not make any noticeable achievements, as the resolutions were just a reproduction of earlier demands and stressed six main points:

Negroes everywhere need:

1- A voice in their own government.
2- Native rights to the land and its natural resources.
3- Modern education for all children.
4- The development of Africa for the Africans and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
5- The reorganization of commerce and industry so as to make the main object of capital and labor the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few.
6- The treatment of civilized men as civilized despite difference of birth, race, or color (Du Bois 243).

It is clear then that the years 1900-27 represented the period of formation and evolution of the Pan-African movement during which its proponents, Du Bois in particular, strived to give it form and substance. It was the phase when the Pan-African ideology started to force its way through international political scenes. The Gold Coast leaders had followed the evolution of this movement closely since its inception, as their country was represented in most of the Pan-African gatherings that had been held during the three first decades of the twentieth century.

This same period witnessed great changes in the nationalist movement in the Gold Coast, especially after the First World War. By the turn of the twentieth century, the A.R.P.S. was still the only political organization in the Gold Coast which spoke on behalf of the people and represented their channel of communication with the British colonial authorities. The A.R.P.S. had been founded in 1897 and consisted of traditional rulers and educated Africans whose main concern was to oppose the British land legislation in the

Gold Coast. In addition, this political body sought, among other things, to protect the aborigines' rights, encourage the study of the laws, customs and institutions of the country, and promote national unity (Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution* 37).

One of the outstanding Gold Coast leaders, Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford (1866-1930), realized that the conditions of the twentieth century required a more explicit and effective form of nationalism that was likely to secure a redress of grievances. Although they were members of the A.R.P.S., Hayford and his supporters regarded its methods of protest as ineffective and obsolete as it had not achieved any substantial constitutional progress since its successful campaign against the Lands Bill in the nineteenth century. As a result, they took the initiative of launching a new and more vigorous movement, the National Congress of British West Africa (N.C.B.W.A.), which was born in 1920 and constituted the most important nationalist body in the Gold Coast and British West Africa in the 1920s.

- Decline of the A.R.P.S. and Emergence of the N.C.B.W.A. (1900-1930**)**

By the opening years of the twentieth century, the A.R.P.S. remained then the only political body which acted as the main medium of communication between the Gold Coast people and the British colonial authorities. The leaders of the Society were, however, still living off the glory of their nineteenth-century fruitful opposition to the 1897 Lands Bill. They believed that they would monopolize political leadership in the new Gold Coast (which now included Ashanti and the Northern Territories), and that the British government was inclined to consider the joint opposition of the Fanti Chiefs and their educated advisers (Kimble 358).Indeed, the most conspicuous historical achievement of the A.R.P.S. was the success of its 1898 deputation to England to withdraw the Lands Bill. Though the A.R.P.S. continued its opposition to land and forest legislation during the first decade of the

twentieth century, its tactics failed to adapt to the new century challenges.

An attempt at reforming the structure of the A.R.P.S. was made in 1907 through a redefinition of its aims and objects, and a revision of its constitution. In addition to the protection of the aborigines' rights and interests in the Gold Coast, the general aims of the Society were now:

> to 'promote and effect unity of purpose and action', and to be the medium of communication and 'right understanding' between the Government and the people. Special stress was laid upon the need for constitutional methods of action and upon the importance of continued loyalty to the British Crown... (Kimble 363).

Despite this initiative, the A.R.P.S. started to decline a few years before the outbreak of the Great War, its different branches throughout the Gold Coast being paralyzed by the monopoly of its central body at Cape Coast. Regarding the Cape Coast A.R.P.S. section as the parent Society which had the natural right of initiative, its leaders were usually the ones who took decisions in the name of the A.R.P.S., thereby excluding the other local sections. Langley wrote that: "…by 1914 the Gold Coast A.R.P.S. was in decline, still clinging to the old methods of agitation since the successful Lands deputation of 1898; thereafter it remained largely a Cape Coast affair, a shadow of its former glory" (163). Besides, the British colonial authorities had already started to question the Society's representative character. The British official attitude to the A.R.P.S. was that this body was a rather parochial organization which was controlled by a group of educated men, its influence being confined to Cape Coast (Kimble 371).

To react against the Society's bad functioning, in 1914 Casely Hayford thought of convening a conference of African leaders from the four British West African colonies (Kimble 375). He believed that a sense of unity among West Africans could be generated by making appeal to race and color. The idea of West African unity was, therefore, Hayford's main concern. In 1913, for instance, he wrote: "One touch of nature has made all West Africa kin. The common

danger to our ancestral lands has made us one – one in danger, one in safety. United we stand divided we fall..." (qtd. in Kimble 375). Hayford felt that some constitutional reforms and a redefinition of the A.R.P.S. political objectives were necessary to meet the needs of his countrymen. The economic and political problems which emerged by the end of the First World War induced the Gold Coast educated elite to seek a share in the conduct of their country's affairs through elective representation. Such a right, Hayford believed, could be secured only through a strong pressure group, composed of representatives from the four British West African colonies: the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria. This gave Hayford's project a Pan-African tendency although at a regional scale.

The A.R.P.S. regarded any attempt to form a wider organization as a threat to its position and to the privileges of the tribal rulers. Accordingly, it totally rejected the idea of the projected West African conference. Furthermore, its members declared that the initiation of such movements was the role of the natural rulers and not the western-educated elite. However, despite this hostility on the part of the conservative members of the A.R.P.S., Hayford's enthusiasm and determination to put his idea into practice were not cut out. He multiplied his efforts to gain more support, and after much ado and dissension, the N.C.B.W.A. was eventually founded during the meeting which was held at the Accra Native Club from 11 to 29 March 1920. The four British West African colonies were represented in the meeting, with one representative from the Gambia, three from Sierra Leone, six from Nigeria, and forty-two from the Gold Coast (Geiss 285).

The majority of the participants in this meeting belonged to the West African educated class, making of the N.C.B.W.A. a movement of the intelligentsia that did seek the support of the Chiefs as the A.R.P.S., for instance, had done. The delegates were mostly lawyers, doctors, journalists, clergy, merchants, and successful professionals. In his inaugural address of the Conference, Hayford stated: "This conference has been brought about by the intelligentsia of British West Africa by the necessity of bringing before the Government the wants and aspirations of the people so that they may be attended to as

best as they may" (qtd. in Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution* 47-48).

During the session, the delegates discussed subjects presented by speakers from the four British West African colonies. The issues tackled were mainly about constitutional reforms, education, judicial reforms, West African press, commerce, medical reforms, and land legislation. At the end of the Conference, the N.C.B.W.A. was officially established, with its headquarters in Sekondi. T. Hutton Mills was elected as President, Casely Hayford as Vice-President, Dr. F. V. Nanka-Bruce and L. E. V. M'Carthy (from Sierra Leone) as Joint Secretaries, and A. Boi Quartey-Papafio and H. Van Hien (or Hein) as Joint Treasurers (Kimble 382).

Eighty-three resolutions were adopted during the Accra Conference, the most important of which were: local self-government in all the principal towns of British West Africa, elective franchise, abrogation of the system of nomination to the Legislative Council, abolition of racial discrimination in the Civil Service, respect of the West African system of land tenure, appointment and deposition of Chiefs by their own people without British interference, and foundation of a West African university (Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution* 48-49*;* Kimble 382-84; Geiss 286; and Langley 128-30). The delegates expressed their loyalty to and respect for the British Crown and promised to preserve their attachment to the British Empire. The tone and demands of the Accra Conference remained, therefore, moderate.

After the Accra Conference, another meeting took place in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in January-February 1923. During this session, the delegates produced a formal constitution for the N.C.B.W.A. and elected Casely Hayford as President. Besides, they laid stress on the importance of providing an appropriate education for West Africans, namely through the foundation of a British West African university (Kimble 400). Moreover, Hayford referred to the international reputation gained by the N.C.B.W.A. by stating that it "...is known throughout the entire English-speaking world and we are

recognized by, and are in touch with some of the greatest world movements of the day" (qtd. in Geiss 291).[1]

The next meeting of the N.C.B.W.A. was convened in Bathurst in the Gambia from 24 December 1925 to 10 January 1926 after several postponements because of the constitutional reforms which were being discussed in the Gold Coast, and which resulted in the introduction of a new constitution for the Colony in 1925. Therefore, an important part of the debates during this session concerned the Gold Coast new constitution, against which the delegates protested (Kimble 401-02).

The fourth session of the N.C.B.W.A. took place in Lagos, Nigeria, from December 1929 to January 1930. It was the last one (and also the last meeting of the N.C.B.W.A.) attended by Casely Hayford, for he died a few months later. As President of the Congress, Hayford gave an overview of the activities and achievements of the N.C.B.W.A. after ten years of activism. While stressing the importance of the West Africans' role in taking part in the policy-making process in their countries, he complained about the lack of unity among them. This, he believed, was both the most serious obstruction to West African progress, and the greatest challenge to be overcome (Kimble 402).

The resolutions passed at all the N.C.B.W.A. meetings during the 1920s centered on constitutional, economic and educational reforms which were to embrace all British West Africa. Despite their constant objection to the British conduct of their countries' affairs, the Congress leaders never expressed their wish to sever all ties with the colonial power. On the contrary, they had always expressed their intention to maintain their attachment to the British Empire.

What is worth noticing, however, is that the N.C.B.W.A. initiated a Pan-West African project by attempting a union of the four British West African territories. "The attempt at West African unity

[1]- According to Geiss, since Hayford had already had personal contact with W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey at that time, he probably had them in mind when he mentioned 'the greatest world movements of the day' (Geiss 291).

had certainly been premature," Kimble wrote, "though in some ways it had been more far-sighted than the Governors who condemned such an approach as unconstitutional" (402). While being clearly affected by Pan-African trends,Casely Hayford and his colleagues adopted a critical attitude towards New World Pan-Africanists. Though fully aware of the great work that was being accomplished on the part of their New World brothers to elevate the black race through Pan-African activities, the Gold Coast nationalists insisted on the primordial role of continental Africans to manage their own affairs and solve their own problems.

- The Attitude of Gold Coast Leaders to New World Pan-Africanism

Except for the educated elite, the Gold Coast people in general did not have an idea about Pan-Africanism or the activities of New World Pan-Africanists during the first decades of the twentieth century. Some Gold Coast politicians came across ***The Crisis***, the official paper of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), and were then aware of some of Du Bois's activities to uplift the black race (Lahouel 240). But by the end of the First World War, the Gold Coast nationalist leaders' interest in the Pan-African movement started to grow, especially after the organization of the First Pan-African Congress in 1919. As their vision of Pan-Africanism became clearer throughout the years, they expressed different opinions about it. Their attitudes towards New World Pan-Africanism oscillated between agreement and rejection, depending on the Pan-Africanists' conception of a united black race and the ways to reach such an aim.

Casely Hayford, who had already been aware of the activities of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey, held different views about African American and West Indian leaders. His attitudes to New World leaders' philosophies were shaped by his previous knowledge of each one's methods and thoughts. For Hayford, African American leaders were concerned, above all, with the situation of black people in the United States, or,

at the most, in the western hemisphere. He thus considered that they could not play a leading part in the salvation of Africa. Langley wrote that: "As early as 1911 he [Hayford] held the view that Afro-Americans, as a result of their assimilation into American culture, were disqualified from assuming the role of political mentors to an awakened Africa" (39).

During the Bathurst meeting of the N.C.B.W.A., Hayford reported that with regard to the welfare of the black race, a great effort was being done in the New World. He, however, added that the Africans "...must, to a certain extent, guide and control it.... The right inspiration must come from the mother continent; and in no part of Africa can such inspiration be so well supplied as in the West" (qtd. in Geiss 291).

Hayford reiterated his position vis-à-vis New World Pan-Africanism during the Lagos meeting (1929-30) of the N.C.B.W.A. by maintaining that African American leaders ignored the conditions in West Africa. Pan-African leadership was, therefore, to be taken over by West Africans, he pointed out. In this respect, Geiss quoted:

> It is necessary to realise that the duty is cast upon us in British West Africa to lead the way in making suitable suggestions for the amelioration of African disabilities. The African of the dispersion, though of high cultural attainment, has yet to grasp those indigenous conditions which must command practical reforms (292).

Nonetheless, Hayford did not reject New World Pan-Africanism altogether despite his prudent attitude. When Booker T. Washington convened the International Conference on the Negro in 1912, Hayford expressed his belief in the capacity of black Americans to solve the Africans' problems, because of the apolitical nature of Washington's educational projects which would leave the political initiative to the African nationalists (Langley 33).Hayford sent a letter to the Conference in which he referred to 'an African personality' in a Pan-African tone:

> When the Aborigines of the Gold Coast and other parts of West Africa have joined forces with our brethren in America in arriving at a national aim, purpose and aspiration, then indeed will it be possible for our brethren over the sea to bring home metaphorically to their nation and people a great spoil (qtd. in Geiss 219).

As for Du Bois, Hayford considered the former's methods and proceedings as provincial and exclusive, for he focused his Pan-African efforts on the betterment of African Americans' conditions which were different from the Gold Coast ones. Du Bois's Pan-African philosophy was welcomed by the Gold Coast politicians in general, because it implied a race consciousness on the part of their brothers in the New World; however, they rejected the assumption of New World Pan-Africanists that they detained the solutions to the African continent's problems. Du Bois's Pan-Africanism was then regarded as "...a grand movement to be admired and held up as indication of a new and vigorous race-consciousness determined to assert itself in the post-war world, but was at the same time not directly related to peculiar economic and political problems of British West Africa" (Langley 89).

Garveyism was already a well-known movement in the United States and even in Africa by the beginning of the 1920S. However, the Gold Coast nationalists had long expressed reservations as to the ability of Marcus Garvey to solve Africa's problems, and they rejected the extremist aspect of Garveyism which preached racial purity. According to R. L. Okonkwo, the Gold Coast leaders, especially the founders of the N.C.B.W.A., did not warmly embrace Garveyism. This attitude accounted for the fact that there were no traces of Garveyite organizations on the Gold Coast in the 1920s, unlike other West African territories, such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria (Okonkwo 109).For instance, during the founding Conference of the N.C.B.W.A. in 1920, Casely Hayford expressed his approval of the commercial aspects of

Garveyism, especially the Black Star Steamship Line which would be very beneficial to West African traders (Davis 676).

Hayford emphasized that any political initiative concerning West Africa must be undertaken by West Africans, because most African Americans and West Indians had a distorted image of continental Africans and their conditions. Accordingly, he rejected New World Pan-Africanists' presumption that African Americans were better qualified to lead Africa. At the same time, Hayford displayed an opposition to Garvey's Back-to-Africa schemes and drew West Africans' attention to the problems that might arise between the newcomers and the inhabitants of the continent (Lahouel 243).In fact, while Hayford and the Gold Coast press welcomed the idea of racial unity, they feared that New World emigrants would try to dominate the natives, a fear probably stemming from the experience of Liberia, where the Americo-Liberians dominated political institutions at the detriment of the natives.

Another eminent Gold Coast nationalist called William Essuman-Gwira Sekyi, also known as Kobina Sekyi (1892-1956), studied Garveyism closely. Sekyi was a lawyer from Cape Coast and one of the most brilliant nationalists and popular personalities in the Gold Coast during the first half of the twentieth century. His opinions about Garvey's Pan-Africanism resulted from a minute analysis of this movement, so his attitude was more objective and realistic and represented the Gold Coast nationalists' standpoint vis-à-vis Garveyism. For Sekyi, Garvey's appeals for racial collaboration and solidarity between Africans in the diaspora and those in Africa would be beneficial for the welfare of the whole black race. He welcomed the material assistance and the flow of capitals from African Americans, which would enable Africans to cope with the hard conditions under the European colonization. He pointed out that Africans were able to better their conditions had they benefited from African American and West Indian industrial and economic skills.

At the same time, Sekyi asserted that the Garveyites had just a meager knowledge about the West Africans' conditions. Consequently, they were excluded from assuming a Pan-African leadership in West Africa. In this respect, Langley wrote that: "...West Indians and Afro-Americans...had inherited Anglo-Saxon prejudices against the Africans and were *ipso facto* disqualified from assuming any political leadership in the African continent" (Langley 99). Kobina Sekyi rejected any external interference in the Africans' problems, because he considered that it behooved the Africans themselves to play such a part.

Conclusion

Both Pan-Africanism and Gold Coast nationalism had their origins in the centuries which preceded the twentieth century, and more importantly in the nineteenth century. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the two movements started to have form and substance almost simultaneously on two different continents; however, the Atlantic Ocean had never constituted a barrier that prevented the exchange of ideas between Africans on its eastern and western shores.Despite their conditions under British colonial rule, the Gold Coast leaders were aware of the Pan-African activities of their brothers in the western hemisphere. They even managed to take part in most of the Pan-African gatherings which were organized during the three first decades of the twentieth century, thereby showing a great interest in the work that was being undertaken by leaders of African descent in the New World to better the lot of Africans everywhere.

The attitude of Gold Coast nationalists to Pan-Africanism was ambivalent. On the one hand, they were in general agreement with New World Pan-Africanists on industrial and economic aspects, because they were well aware that Africa needed western qualifications in all walks of life, especially if these were held by African Americans who had learned so much during their long stay on the other side of the Atlantic. The colonial situation in which they lived made it difficult for Africans to achieve significant progress, so an external help from their American and West Indian brothers would substantially contribute to improve their standard of living. On the

other hand, the Gold Coast nationalists did not accept New World Pan-Africanists' claims to political leadership in the African continent. They strongly opposed African Americans' implicit assumptions that they were better destined to play a political role in Africa. The Gold Coasters firmly believed that they were the only ones qualified to lead their country, because they knew better than anyone else the conditions of the Gold Coast and its most urgent needs.

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